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REVIEW OF THE SESSION.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE

HON. THOS. WHITE,

TO THE

ELECTORS OF CARDWELL, AT MONO MILLS, ONT., JUNE 10, 1886

CARDWELL CONSERVATIVES.

Enthusiastic Mass Meeting of Electors at Mono Mills.

ADDRESS BY HON. THOMAS WHITE.

Review of the Late Session--- The Measures Passed.

THE RIVAL POLICIES CONTRASTED.

A large and thoroughly representative gathering of the electors of the county of Cardwell was held at Mono mills on Thursday last, when their representative, the Hon. Thomas White, minister of the interior, addressed them prior to his departure for the Northwest Territories and British Columbia. The chair was occupied by Mr. William Algie, of Alton.

The Hon. Mr. WHITE, on stepping forward to address the meeting, was received with enthusiastic cheers, and after some preliminary observation he said:—The last session of Parliament, as you know, gentlemen, was one of considerable interest. Before Parliament met there were speculations abroad as to what its effect would be. Some of our own friends even feared that possibly the Government might be defeated. An event had occurred which had excited a profound

agitation, a serious agitation, in the adjoining province of Quebec. The rebellion in the Northwest, followed as it was by the arrest of Louis Riel and his trial and execution, had excited among the people of the province of Quebec an agitation which promised at one time to engulf the administration and to destroy it. My honored colleagues, the French-Canadian members of the Government, recognized at that time the principle that the law of the land

MUST BE ADMINISTERED

irrespective of class, creed or nationality, and have stood by Sir John Macdonald in vindication of the laws of the country in a manner that I am sure must enlist the full sympathy and support of the sober-minded people in all parts of the Dominion. But in the province of Quebec there were large meetings held for the purpose of denouncing the Government. Sir John Macdonald and the French-Canadian members of the Cabinet were burned in effigy, hanged in effigy, every form of insult that could possibly be offered to them was offered to them, and there were those who felt that the members from that province might when the time came go back upon the principles of their life time and on this one question destroy the administration of the day. When Parliament, therefore, met it met under circumstances of great interest, but I am glad to say, as you already know, as it progressed it was found that with the exception of a very few gentlemen who had committed themselves in advance, the representatives of the province of Quebec acted upon the principle that although they may have had ties of sympathy of a national character with the unfortunate leader of the rebellion in the Northwest, yet they felt that the Government in vindication of the law had done nothing more than what was right. (Cheers.) We found not the defeat of the Government, but that it was sustained by a

larger majority than any Government has obtained on a question of party controversy. This showed to the Government that the course they had taken, although painful, because the execution of a fellow being and the act of administration under which a Government is compelled to advise it, must always be painful, in vindicating the laws of the country was heartily approved of by the country at large. (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, as to

THE MEASURES

which were adopted during the session. It is, perhaps, not surprising that in view of the early completion of the Canadian Pacific railway Northwest matters occupied a prominent position. I have simply to mention to you, and the mention of them is sufficient, some of the measures adopted in reference to the Northwest. Since I last met you in Cardwell I have visited that country in the performance of my duty; I went northward as far as Prince Albert, and southward through southern Manitoba, meeting with the settlers there and discussing with them the affairs of that part of the country. They presented to me at almost all of those meetings statements and suggestions of improvements which they believed should take place in the laws of the country, and I am sure it will be to me a matter of the greatest satisfaction that I will be able to say to them that nearly every suggestion presented to me at that time has since been adopted, not only in consequence of my having gone there, but by the progress of time, and by the arrival at that period in the history of the country which rendered every one of these changes necessary. (Cheers.) Thus, in the next Parliament we will see representatives from the Northwest Territories, and then no section in this Dominion will be without its fair representation in the councils of the country. (Hear, hear.) That was a measure of the greatest possible importance, but it was a measure that could not be adopted until the population of the country had increased somewhat, and until a numerical census of the country was taken as it was last summer. We have in this shown our more

LIBERAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

than that which obtains on the other side of the line. There these territories would have had no representation in the Congress of the country except territorial representation,

which would entitle their representatives to speak but not to vote. Here we have given people who have gone in there within the last four or five years all the rights which are held by the other provinces of the Dominion, and their representatives will, as members of Parliament, have all the privileges which other members of Parliament possess. (Hear, hear.) Then another question which agitated the Northwest was

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

that prevailed there. In the early history of the country it was absolutely necessary that a somewhat primitive system should be adopted. I believe the present system was inaugurated by the Mackenzie Government, and both Governments recognized the principle that in that country the true policy was to employ stipendiary magistrates, so that the people could have their wrongs righted and disputes settled without any appeal—something like the principle in your division courts with a criminal jurisdiction added. But as the population was increasing and becoming more dense in certain portions of the territories, it was found that a change was necessary, and during the past session we have given a judicial system to the Northwest substantially the same as that of other provinces—judges appointed for life having full jurisdiction in criminal and civil matters—with the right to appeal to their own Court of Appeal just as in the other provinces. That was a change which was greatly needed, and the result of which I believe will militate largely to the advantage of the people. Then we have adopted what is called

THE TORRENS LAND SYSTEM,

a system by which the transfer of land is made easy, and which has been in operation in the Australian colonies for about a quarter of a century and has worked remarkably well. I believe the Legislature of Ontario has adopted it as a permissive system, and has applied it to the metropolitan county of York, but as a permissive system it has not worked as well as it is expected to in a new country like the Northwest, where the transfers of land have been few, and where the fee of the land still largely remains in the Crown. In such a territory I believe such a system could be adopted and successfully carried out. That has been in accordance with the desire of the people of the Northwest Territories. Then we have also amended to some extent

THE LAND LAWS OF THE NORTHWEST,

making settlement more easy, simplifying the system by which entries can be made, and amending the laws in many other respects to the advantage of the settlers in those territories. These four measures constitute in themselves a full measure of work in any ordinary session of Parliament, and you will see in regard to them that they are all eminently practical and cannot be said to be in any way whatever matters of party policy or of party controversy, but practical measures which will undoubtedly result in very great advantages to the people of these Northwest Territories when they are brought into operation. (Hear, hear.) Then, gentlemen, another most important and practical measure was introduced and carried through the house by the Hon. John Carling, minister of agriculture, with the object of establishing experimental farms. Now there has been another system adopted in Ontario, viz., the establishment of an agricultural college. Whether its operation has been advantageous or disadvantageous to the farming community or the motive which prompted its establishment, we are not called upon at present to discuss, but Mr. Carling did what was a wise and proper thing for him to do. Almost as soon as he was sworn into office he asked Mr. Saunders, of London, who is regarded as an authority in agricultural matters, and who is the author of valuable works in this connection, to pay a visit to the experimental farms and agricultural colleges throughout the United States and make a report to the Minister of Agriculture, which he did. That report was that, instead of adopting the agricultural college as a teaching establishment, the best plan would be to adopt the system of

A CENTRAL EXPERIMENTAL STATION,

with branch experimental stations throughout the Dominion, so that farmers can get valuable information by the most accurate demonstration in relation to soils and seeds and all matters relating to their occupation, which will undoubtedly induce very largely to their advantage. (Cheers.) It was a measure which was sustained almost unanimously—in fact it was only opposed by a few carping critics—by both sides of the house, and was regarded as a measure of eminent practical utility for the agricultural classes of the country. I am satisfied that in carrying it out the Government will do for the farmers

of Canada that which the farmers will deeply appreciate. (Cheers.) Mr. Carling, you know, was the minister who suggested the idea of an agricultural college for Ontario. If he had remained in office and carried out his own ideas in relation to it, I have no doubt that many of the complaints which have been made against that college would never have been made. I think that I may say that there is no man in Canada to-day, as a minister of the Crown, who, in relation to the matters coming within his special purview, is a better authority or is likely to carry on his work with more acceptance to the people of Canada than the Minister of Agriculture. (Cheers.) Then, gentlemen, we adopted during the session some amendments to

THE FRANCHISE BILL.

They do not alter the principle for this year, but they do make certain alterations which will come into effect on future occasions, that is to say they will enlarge very considerably the income franchise to persons who enjoy this franchise, and who by the fact of moving from one place to another may find themselves now without a vote. Other amendments will tend towards largely decreasing the expense by changing the schedules and simplifying them to a considerable extent. In this way the cost of printing, for instance, will be greatly lessened. The result of the experiments on the first act showed these changes to be necessary, and they have been adopted by the Government. This Franchise bill last year occupied some seven or eight weeks in discussion; the one single question of what is an Indian, or whether he was entitled to vote, taking, I believe, some four weeks; but this year these disputes had all disappeared, and the amendments which were brought down by the Government passed practically with very little opposition. Another measure of great practical value was the taking over by the Government of the whole printing of Parliament by the establishment of a printing bureau, the effect of which will be to decrease the cost and add to the quality of the printing. (Hear, hear.) These, gentlemen, were the most important questions which occupied the attention of the house during the session which has just closed, and you will see that in every single instance the measures have been of an eminently practical character, the wisdom and advantage of which everyone looking at them

and studying them will admit, tending as they will to the promotion and advancement of the best interests of the country. (Cheers.) So much for the measures. Now, gentlemen, there was another feature of considerable importance, and that was the

COMPLETE COLLAPSE OF THE OPPOSITION POLICY

(Cheers.) I am not speaking now of mere party tactics but of the collapse of the Opposition policy. When the Conservative party came into office in 1878, there were two great questions before the country—one known as the National policy, or the question of a protective policy, and the other was the construction of the Canadian Pacific railway, which the Conservative Government had always held should be constructed by a private company. Both were included in the term National policy. A National policy does not necessarily mean a 25 or 30 per cent. duty on any particular article, but such a policy as will promote the material development of the country and the advancement of the industries of every kind in the country. (Hear, hear.) The construction of the Canadian Pacific railway opening up our great Northwest, giving facilities to the settlers who go in there and the advancement of the country at large is just as much a question of National policy as putting a 25 per cent. duty upon any particular fabric. These two questions have been discussed more or less every session since, but last session there was but one division on the National Policy, and that was brought up on a motion by the Hon. Mr. Mitchell to abolish the duties on coal, breadstuffs and grain, and the remarkable feature connected with it was that some members of the Opposition, such as Mr. Harley, of North Oxford, and Mr. Watson, of Marquette, Manitoba, voted with the Government upon it, and a number of others left the house and would not vote. (Hear, hear.) The result of this division was the largest majority which the Government had upon any purely party question. My friend, Mr. Charlton, stated in regard to it that he could not see how it was that his Maritime friends would not learn that they had been beaten out of their boots upon this question on two different occasions, but they must needs by their course provoke another defeat. It is quite true that Sir Richard Cartwright is just as fanatical upon that question as ever, and denounces manufacturers as public robbers—as people living out of the taxation of the country; but although their leaders, Messrs.

Blake, Mills and Cartwright, still adhere—or appear to adhere—to the views they formerly held, the sense of the people and the opinions of the people were much more reflected in the regret which was felt by certain members of the Opposition at the bringing up of this question at all (cheers), so that the National Policy has been vindicated by the policy of the Opposition last session in not wishing to make it an issue between the two parties. Then with regard to the other question which came up, with reference to the

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY,

you remember, gentlemen, that in 1880-81 meetings were held in all parts of the country to discuss the matter. It was about that time that we lost that bright and shining light, Mr. Proctor (laughter) from the Conservative party. You will, doubtless, remember that he first appeared at Charleston to convince the people that that measure was going to ruin this country irretrievably. The discussions which took place in Parliament were long, elaborate and able discussions on both sides of the house. The Opposition predicted terrible things as the result of it. They said that under the charter which we were going to give them the company would be able to build the prairie section, and then abandon the two ends, or the most difficult sections, and leave the road on the hands of the Government with very little accomplished towards its completion. Another prediction was that by the terms of the contract and by the standard that was fixed they would be able to build a very inferior road, or practically a colonization road, costing perhaps \$10,000 a mile, and that the scheme would bring the country so irretrievably into debt that it would be ruined and its credit destroyed. These were some of the predictions of the Opposition. Now, first, as to the character of the road. The company very soon gave evidence that their intention was not to build the prairie section alone. They commenced the construction of the Lake Superior section at the same time as the other and constructed it with almost equal rapidity. Then, as to the character of the road, everybody who had travelled over it stated that they had no regard whatever to the standard laid down in the contract, but that their one object appeared to have been to build a first-class railway, because they had to operate it, and the better

it was built the more cheaply it could be operated. (Hear, hear.) We have the

TESTIMONY OF HON. MR. MACKENZIE

who travelled over the road two years ago, and who, when he reached Calgary, telegraphed to the president of the road, Mr. (now Sir George) Stephen, congratulating him upon the substantial manner in which the railway was built. (Cheers.) Then, gentlemen, this question presented itself. This company was composed of Canadians and Americans. Their American friends appeared to think that the Opposition were right and that they would build the prairie section and not touch the section north of Lake Superior. As soon as they saw them go to work on it they did everything they possibly could to prevent its success in the markets of the world. The company went to England, but failed to get the necessary means; they went to New York, but there they failed also. They found very great difficulty in getting money, and I happen to know that Sir George Stephen and the Hon. Mr. (now Sir Donald) Smith—and no men have more worthily earned the distinction which our Gracious Sovereign has been pleased to confer upon them—risked their whole fortunes at that time for the completion of the road. But they came to the Government in 1884 and they said: "We find ourselves baulked in every way and it appears almost impossible to complete the road in accordance with the terms of the contract. Loan us \$30,000,000, take our whole road and all our lands as security and enable us to complete the railway, and once completed we will run our chances for means to carry it on." Well the Government brought down that measure, and we were then told that \$30,000,000 more had been given to the Canadian Pacific railway and that the Government would never see a dollar of that money back. Even friends of our own, some of them prominent merchants, said, "Well, it is just as well to give the thirty millions, but you will never see a dollar of it." Next year it looked almost as if they were going to be right. These gentlemen came to us and said "We want \$5,000,000 more," and the Government gave it. Now, that first loan was granted to be paid in 1890, and the five millions additional were to be repaid on the 1st of July of this year. Then we were told, "There is \$5,000,000 more gone, and here is the Government giving up all the money of the

country because they were asked to do it." Now,

WHAT HAS BEEN THE RESULT?

In the first place, as to the \$5,000,000 which they got on the 1st of July of last year, they actually paid it back in the month of August, within a month after the rising of Parliament. (Loud cheers.) I think I announced it first in Alton, where I first had an opportunity of doing so. This year how does it stand? The company have paid back \$20,000,000 four years before they were called upon to do so, and they have paid the balance by the Government taking land from them at \$1.50 an acre. And now that the Opposition have found all their predictions utterly gone they say: "Oh well, you have taken back your own land, and you have got nothing; you are simply giving \$10,000,000 to the company." But it is not "our own land." We agreed to give them land in payment for the construction of the railway, and having constructed the railway the land is theirs, not ours. A contractor, for instance, builds a house for you and you pay him for it. You might just as well say to him, "That is my money; you had better give it back to me." (Cheers.) "Oh," he replies, "but you have got your house," and the company can say to us, "You have got your railway." They also say that the land is not worth \$1.50 an acre. Let us look back at their statements when the contract was first made. What was the estimate put upon that land at that time, in the open prairie far from a railway and far from all successful settlement. The lowest estimate was \$2 an acre, and they valued it up to \$5 an acre. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Charlton, by citing the sales of land by American railway companies, proved to a demonstration that the lands were worth \$4 an acre, and multiplying the 25,000,000 acres by four and adding the \$25,000,000 cash subsidy, charged the Government with practically giving the company \$125,000,000 to build the road. (Hear, hear.) Another argument used by the Opposition was that we were ruining the Northwest by tying up the whole of that territory in the hands of a company who will hold the land to the prejudice of the settlers who are coming in there, and they cited the Canada company's operations in Upper and the British American Land company in Lower Canada in support of this argument. Admitting for a moment that it is an unfortunate thing, then surely it

is worth something to have seven millions less locked up, that instead of 25,000,000 we will have only 18,000,000 acres of land locked up as the result of the operations that have taken place. (Hear, hear.) No, gentlemen, the policy of the Government in 1880 has been completely vindicated and on the 21st of this month

THE FIRST PASSENGER TRAIN

will leave Montreal to go straight through to Vancouver in five days' time, so that we stand to-day with the railway completed four years before the contract expires, and the loans repaid into the treasury, a thing unheard of in the history of the world, and we find ourselves in the possession of the great imperial highway to Hong Kong, Australia and India as the result of the operations of the present Government in connection with its policy. (Loud cheers.) I have no idea that the general elections will be held this year, but there is a statement in the *Globe* to that effect, and of course the ministers always go to the *Globe* to find out what they are doing themselves; but I ask you, gentlemen, whether a record of that kind is not a record which will entitle them to the support and confidence of the patriotic people of all parts of the Dominion of Canada. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, they tell us, "It is quite true you have built the Canadian Pacific railway, but you have enormously

INCREASED THE PUBLIC DEBT."

That is quite true, and I do not see very well how we could build it without increasing the debt. If the Canadian Pacific railway is worth anything it is worth that debt. Let us look at the question of the debt. In the first place our opponents use the figures of the gross public debt, which they fix at \$281,433,629, and they tell us that we have increased the public debt during the eight years we have been in office by \$106,476,361. I am not underestimating these figures. They are very large figures, but the question you have to consider and which every man would consider in his own business is, "What have we to show for it." The increase of the public debt is not necessarily a bad thing. Sir Richard Cartwright, while Minister of Finance, when presenting the silver side of the shield to the people of England in order to effect a loan, pointed out that we had a large debt, it is true, but we had valuable assets which compensated for it. Now, what have we done in

regard to it? In the first place, we have interest-bearing assets to offset that debt. Taking these assets, and we have reduced the increase from \$106,476,361 to \$65,207,164, that is to say, we have interest-bearing assets to make up that difference. Now, what has been the effect of it. They told us that this enormous increase

WOULD AFFECT OUR CREDIT.

Has it done so? Do we stand better or worse to-day in the money markets of the world? The average interest on the net debt in 1878 was 4.65 per cent., while to-day it is only 3.80 per cent., or a difference of .85 in favor of the present as compared with the past. I think, gentlemen, that that will show that the standing of the country in the money markets of the world is a good one, in view of what we have been doing to cause that increase. (Hear, hear.) I have said that we have increased the net debt by \$65,207,164, but the average interest on our assets when Mr. Mackenzie was in power was only 1.63 per cent., while to-day it is 3.94 per cent., or an increase in favor of the present of 2.31 per cent. (Cheers.) We have increased our debt, it is true, but the increase in our debt since 1878 has been \$50,060 a year less than during the five years that Mr. Mackenzie was in office. (Cheers.) More than that, during the five years the Liberals were in office they increased the debt by \$1,997,613 more than they expended on capital account—nearly two millions of borrowed money to enable them to carry on the government of the country—while from 1878 to 1885 we have expended \$24,740,553 more on capital account than we have added to the public debt. (Cheers.) You have not felt any serious taxation as a result of that increase; you have not paid any more than at that time for articles you consumed, and, on the whole, you have had a fair measure of prosperity; and yet we have been able to expend no less than \$24,740,553 more than we have added to the public debt. (Renewed cheering.) Let me also give four items of expenditure which make in themselves more than the whole increase in the debt. There are the debts allowed to the provinces. That is simply a matter of account. They were debts owed by the provinces, and the provincial debt is lessened to that extent. This item amounted to \$7,177,718. Then on the Canadian Pacific railway the subsidies and the amounts we paid on those portions of the road we had

to build, that is between Port Arthur and Winnipeg and between Yale and Kamloops, on the Pacific coast, we paid \$46,987,894; on Dominion lands, for surveys, etc., \$2,436,035, and on ordinary miscellaneous public works charged to capital \$14,954,624, or on these four items alone we have, independent of all the other expenses which are necessary in a growing country like this, nearly six and a half million dollars

MORE THAN THE ENTIRE INCREASE

in the public debt. Then they tell us that we have enormously increased the public expenditure. That is quite true, but in the nature of things in a country like this, growing as it is, if the Government recognize that their business is to benefit the country they will recognize the necessity of this expenditure. That is the policy of this Government. But look at the facts. First there is an increase of interest of \$2,370,599, but, inasmuch as there is a large increase in the interest upon our assets, which should fairly be deducted from that, that item will be greatly reduced. Let me give you a sample by way of comparison. The annual increase in the net interest from 1873 to 1878 was \$290,368, while from 1878 to 1885 it was only \$133,518, or less than half the increase during the time Mr. Mackenzie was in office. (Cheers.) Now among the things upon which we have had increases, in the charges for debt and the subsidies to the provinces, there is an increase of \$3,588,833, but of this there is \$1,391,261 increased interest on assets and \$186,519 increased subsidies to the provinces. Then there is an increased charge upon revenue of \$1,892,752 or 35½ per cent., but the revenue has increased 46½ per cent., so that really is not an increase. When we get a still larger revenue as the result of larger expenditure it is an economy instead of extravagance to make that increase. Then there is an expenditure of \$2,300,000 in connection with the Northwest rebellion, which really belongs to capital and never should have been included in the charges against consolidated fund. These three items make up \$7,781,586 of the increase which has taken place during that time. Against the balance we have first an expenditure on public works of \$1,303,768. The Government could adopt the principle of expending no money on public works whatever, could lay down the principle of erecting no public buildings in our towns or cities, or of making

no improvements in our harbors or rivers, but of using the revenues of the country to pay the expenditure in connection with the mere functions of Government. But that is not the policy of this Government. The policy of this Government is to make

WISE AND LIBERAL EXPENDITURES

upon the public works of this country. (Cheers.) Then as to the Indians, there is an increased expenditure of \$688,101; but the Opposition complain that we do not expend enough on the Indians. Then, on the Mounted Police there is a necessary increase of \$229,501; on the fisheries, in connection with their protection and development, \$179,912; on immigration and quarantine, \$325,716; on Dominion lands, by causing larger surveys in the Northwest, \$91,095; making in all an increase of \$2,828,097, leaving less than a million dollars to be spread over all the other items of ordinary expenditure. Now, gentlemen, it is also said that the departments are increasing very largely. In connection with my own department—the Department of the Interior—in the whole of the year 1878 there were received and registered 4,642 letters, while in 1885 there were received and registered 27,660 letters. For the five months of this year just ended, there were received and registered 20,048 letters, and for the month of May, which has just past, there were received and recorded in the department 4,728 letters, or 86 more than the entire number received and recorded in the whole year 1878. I think you will all admit that fact alone amply justifies the increased expenditure in that department. (Cheers.) If you think that can be done without some increase in the staff of the department, then I would like you to try your hand at it. (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, so much for that. But, beaten as they have been on matters of policy, for they are abandoning their attacks upon the National Policy and the Canadian Pacific railway, although their leaders are as fanatical as ever upon the subject, they have adopted a new kind of cry to obtain office if they can. It would be simply affectation to say that the Opposition do not expect to win the next election. "Blessed are they who expect nothing, for they shall not be disappointed." (Laughter and cheers.) But they do expect to do so. In the first place they expect to carry the whole province of Quebec with them, that instead of our having some fifty-two Conservative members from Quebec, it will be about the

other way, and they think if we manage to get a dozen or fifteen we will have done well. And why? Simply because the Government, in what they believed to be their sense of duty and obligation to the country, allowed the law to take its course in

THE CASE OF LOUIS RIEL.

We saw the agitation in Quebec last fall, and we heard the statement of Mr. Mercier on the Champ de Mars, a statement which for sacrilegious blasphemy could hardly be equalled by the lowest demagogue, when he likened Louis Riel to the Saviour of all mankind, and the execution at Regina to the sacrifice on Calvary. (Sensation.) Upon that ground they hope hereafter to secure such a support in Quebec as will enable them to succeed at the elections when they take place. They are issuing to-day their manifesto: "Louis Riel was the representative of the French race in Canada; French Canada implied the Government (as they say) to spare his life, and the Government refused, and, therefore, it is the business of French Canada, irrespective of old party lines altogether, to unite for the purpose of punishing the men who executed Louis Riel." And then they hope to gain them in the province of Ontario by this plea, that although a great many of their leaders in this province believe in their hearts that he deserved his fate, and that no other course was open to the Government, and that although they had announced in their newspapers before the execution that if Riel was not executed the Government would be deserving of the severest censure, and that it would be another evidence that the Government were at the beck and call of the French-Canadians of the province of Quebec—they now say "If the Government have lost their friends in Quebec by this course we are going to take advantage of the Government by casting our votes as usual with this people whose only ground of complaint is that Riel was executed," and they believe they will have their old support in the province of Ontario as firm as it ever was before. Looking at the two parties one cannot but feel that the party which so readily changes its front as the Liberals are doing to-day in the province of Ontario is not worthy of the support of law-abiding, well-intentioned citizens. (Hear, hear.) Why at the last general election, both in verse and in prose, from their platforms and their press, we heard of nothing but the iniquity of the Quebec Bleus.

Everywhere we heard their alliance with the Conservatives of Ontario abused. I remember when I came up here to support my good friend, Mr. Hamel—and when I had an opportunity of meeting political opponents on a political platform,—that everywhere the question was

THESE TERRIBLE QUEBEC BLEUS.

(Hear, hear.) They were described as persons with hoofs, horns and tails which they scarcely concealed. Now all that is changed. The Quebec Bleus have donned little wings; they are angelic cherubs which sit up aloft and look after the fate of poor Neddy. They propose now to coalesce with the very people whom they used formerly as a bugaboo with which to frighten the people of Ontario. I do not think that policy is likely to be a successful one. (Hear, hear.) I do not believe they will have the success they expect in the province of Quebec. This is happily not a religious question. The Roman Catholic Episcopate of that province have objected to and have denounced the agitation. (Hear, hear.) Some of them have even gone so far as to prevent high masses being said for the repose of the soul of Louis Riel, because they saw in it an attempt to make political capital out of the sacred ordinances of the church. (Hear, hear.) Even should they succeed to some extent in the province of Quebec, that the people of Ontario even their own friends will permit success to follow such an agitation, I cannot for a moment believe. (Hear, hear.) But some of them say that the Government must be condemned because, although the Government were right in executing Riel, still, at the same time, they had so mismanaged

AFFAIRS IN THE NORTHWEST

that they ought to be condemned for that fact. Now, in the ordinary nature of things, there may have been blunders in the administration of the affairs of the Northwest, removed as that country is from the seat of Government: but I want to point out to you that if everything these people say was true, it would fail to justify, even to the slightest extent, the rebellion which took place in the Northwest. (Cheers.) The Opposition justify the rebellion on two grounds: One was that the half-breeds had not had their Indian titles extinguished, and the other that they were not permitted to have their lands surveyed in accordance with their wishes. Now the outbreak took place on the banks of the Saskatchewan. There were

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half-breeds at Edmonton, Qu' Appelle, Cypress Hills, and scattered all over the Territories, but only in the Saskatchewan district did the outbreak take place. Why the half-breeds at Edmonton, so far from rebelling, enlisted under Captain Desgorges, of the 65th Battalion, for the defence of their Queen and country. (Cheers.) With regard to the extinguishment of the Indian title in 1869, when the country was taken possession of by the Government, it was agreed that each half-breed should receive 160 acres, or the equivalent in scrip, and that each child of the half-breed born within the territory at that time should receive 240 acres. What was the position on the Saskatchewan? You have heard a great deal about the petitions that were sent down. Well, gentlemen, there was one from Prince Albert district in 1878 praying for scrip; 36 of the signers had actually received it in Manitoba. There was another petition from Gabriel Dumont, and 44 others in September, 1882; of these 38 had received their scrip in Manitoba. Then on the 19th November, 1883, William Bremner and others, 32 in all, sent a petition; 24 had already received their scrip. (Hear, hear.) Of the entire number of settlers in the disturbed district, 258, no less than 177 had received their scrip in Manitoba before they went there at all and had no claim whatever on account of their Indian title. (Cheers.) I think that will fairly show that the rebellion broke out where they had no claim. Then, gentlemen, a commission was sent up last year to settle all these claims, and of 1,686 cases only 38 were from the disturbed districts, showing, as you will see, that there was no ground of complaint on that score. (Hear, hear.) Then as to

THE MATTER OF SURVEYS,

the policy of the Government was adopted in 1871 and has been carried on ever since. They adopted what is called the rectangular system of survey, and every Ontario man who has gone up there is delighted with it. Then the Government adopted the plan that where there was any considerable settlement of half-breeds along the rivers and they desired their own system of ten or twenty chains front and running back a mile or two, the lands would be thus surveyed. It was done at Edmonton, St Albert, St. Laurent, Victoria, Prince Albert and at Fort Saskatchewan, and the only place where it was not adopted, because there were only two settlers

at the time of survey, was in the now well known township of St. Louis de Languevin. It is true that people asked for this system of surveys, but they had come in after the rectangular system of surveys was adopted, and the only thing therefore to justify the rebellion in this respect was that the Government, having adopted a particular kind of survey, would not consent to change it for the settlers who subsequently went in there. That was

THE WHOLE GRIEVANCE,

and I venture to say that no man, unless he does so for party purposes, will say that this justified an outbreak. (Hear, hear.) Now, the Opposition say that the Government had driven away a number of these people, or at least frightened them away, by giving their lands in the township of St. Louis de Languevin to the Prince Albert Colonization company. Well, I obtained, or rather Mr. Pearce, the inspector of mines and a member of the Land board, whom I sent up last fall to settle some land matters, obtained from every one of the settlers, with one exception—and he could not be found—affidavits declaring, with the exception of two, that they had not even heard of the Prince Albert Colonization company and these two had never been threatened or interfered with in any way by either the agent of the company or the agent of the Government. (Hear, hear.) They thought so little of it that they went on with their improvements and no single half-breed—a thing which cannot be said of almost any one province of this Dominion in the dealings between settlers and the land department—has ever been deprived of his land from the time he went into that country down to the present time. (Cheers.) Not only were they not deprived of their lands, but they had conditions granted to them which the ordinary settler from Ontario could not get. Under the conditions upon which settlers settle upon the lands in the Northwest, failure to fulfil them renders the land liable to cancellation. The half-breeds, as to most of them, did not fulfil their conditions; and yet not only did they not have their lands cancelled, but the Government took the trouble long before the rebellion broke out, to send Mr. Duck among them and implore them to make their entries and fulfil their conditions of settlement. More than that, only this last winter I have myself, in answer to a petition sent me from the half-breeds on the Saskatchewan, who asked

for another year because of the difficulty in getting the \$10 fee, caused letters to be written to each one of them,

GIVING THEM A YEAR'S DELAY,

and asking them to remain on the land and cultivate it. (Hear, hear.) As I have said, I obtained these affidavits, and almost the last night of the session Mr. Laurier dealt with them, and he undertook to prove that these affidavits were not worthy of credit because, as he says, the Government agent had threatened, had, in fact, forced them to sign papers which they did not thoroughly understand. Well, gentlemen, I had heard that was going to be done, and I obtained an explanatory letter from Mr. Pearce and affidavits from Mr. Duck, who witnessed some of them, and from Mr. Marion, a half-breed, who witnessed them, both of whom swore that the statements had been read over to the settlers in French and Cree, whichever they best understood, that they perfectly understood them, and that they signed them without any pressure whatever. In reply to these Mr. Laurier said:—

"Any man must admit that very little weight can attach to affidavits framed with the exclusive object of exculpating the Government, obtained by agents of the Government, and obtained from people who were lately insurgents, whose relatives were lately insurgents, and who themselves or their relatives are still liable to imprisonment, to coercion and punishment. It must strike anyone's mind that these poor people, ignorant and illiterate as they are known to be, must be an easy prey to the long-headed agent of the Government. And we have the evidence of that."

Now, gentlemen, what does the evidence amount to. He took the ground that these people were not to be believed on oath, and he (Mr. Laurier) read a letter from a gentleman in Prince Albert, whose name he did not even give, enclosing a statement purporting to be signed, but not sworn to, by some of these half-breeds. The statement of the half-breeds is:—

"That Mr. William Pearce, commissioner of Dominion lands, did, on the occasion of his visit to our settlement in the month of December, 1885, present to us for signature a document which was stated to contain only a statement that we knew nothing of the existence of the Prince Albert Colonization company when we settled on our land."

That was signed by a number of half-breeds, but was not sworn to, and we are asked to believe that these people, who were, at the instance of an agent of the Government, according to Mr. Laurier's statement, willing to perjure themselves, are to be be-

lieved on their unsworn statement, which they probably never had read to them. There is an affidavit attached to this statement, by Mr. Charles Boucher, who says that he saw the above named parties sign the document, but not that it had been read and explained to them. The best proof that these statements are worthless is that no such document was presented by Mr. Pearce, each affidavit was distinct and they all varied in terms. Even the two settlers who knew about the Prince Albert Colonization company did not leave their lands or stop their settlement, and the settlers, generally, were never disturbed or interfered with in the slightest degree. (Cheers.) So much for the Northwest troubles. Gentlemen, having failed again in their policy, they have adopted a new plank and that is

A POLICY OF SLANDER.

They have adopted the plan now of breaking down the personal character of every man who happens to be opposed to them. That is what they have set themselves apart for the most deliberate manner. I have been told that this policy was agreed upon in caucus, Mr. Blake being present at the caucus, and that each man was apportioned his part of this dirty work of slander. What is the ground? In the first place that Parliament has been bought up with timber limits, and that the Government have been giving timber limits to everybody. Let me say this in the first instance in regard to their timber limits. The policy of the Government before the Liberals came into office in 1873 was to put them to public competition. This policy was changed by Mr. Mackenzie and limits were given without competition, this policy being continued until about a year ago. A man applied to the department for a limit, which was usually fifty square miles, and if his application was accepted an order-in-council was passed authorizing him to get that limit. He had then to pay one year's rent in advance, \$5 a square mile, or \$250; he then had to make a survey of the limit, a plan of which he had to send in to the department; then he had to put up a mill with a capacity of cutting not less than 10,000 feet in every twenty-four hours, and lastly to pay to the Government a royalty of 5 per cent. on all the timber he cut. That was the policy of the Government, and there was nothing in the law which prevented a member of Parliament, who was engaged, or desired to embark in the lumber business, from obtain-

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ing these limits the same as any private individual, provided always that no special advantage was given to him that would not be given to outsiders, and no one has ventured to make that charge. (Hear, hear.) Now, Mr. Cameron, of Huron, who is the chief liar I had almost said, but who is the chief charger, recently said in the house in regard to this matter:

"I charged that the Government had parcelled out among their political friends a large portion of the public resources of this Dominion, in some four or five different instances, and in only five or six different instances these charges have been contradicted."

Let me give you one of the charges he cited in Parliament. Mr. Taylor, the member for South Leeds, wrote the following letter to the Department of the Interior in 1882:

GANANOQUE, 3rd October, 1882.

To the Hon. the Minister of the Interior, Ottawa:

"DEAR SIR,—A friend of mine wishes me to enquire on what terms the department will grant a timber limit in the Northwest territories, in townships supposed to be 39, 40 and 41, in ranges 18, 19 and 20 west, at a place called Passenger Hill. He is anxious to secure a limit. Your early reply will much oblige."

"I have the honor to be, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed) GEO. TAYLOR."

Now, that was not a very dangerous letter. What was the answer to it? It was as follows:—

"Department of the Interior, }
"OTTAWA, 10 October, 1882. }

"SIR,—I have the honor, by direction of the minister, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, enquiring on what terms the Government will grant you a timber limit in the Northwest territories, in townships 39, 40 and 41, in ranges 18, 19 and 20 west, of the second meridian; and in reply herewith enclose a copy of the timber regulation."

"I have the honor to be, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed) A. RUSSELL,

"For Surveyor General."

That was not a very serious matter. There never was anything more done about it; no timber limit was given, and yet upon that—the writing of that letter—Mr. Taylor is charged with being bought by the Government, and the Government is charged with corruption and favoritism. Then a charge is also brought against the first minister, Sir John Macdonald, by Mr. Cameron, in these words:—

"Now, sir, I find that the son of the First Minister of this Dominion and the son of Sir Charles Tupper have been using the powerful influence with this administration in order to secure large slices of the public domain and the public resources of this country. For years they have been trading on and

speculating in that influence and in the resources of the Dominion secured thereby."

Gentlemen, I will not detain you with reading Sir John's reply and what took place in the house, but I will say this, that Sir John refuted every single charge advanced by Mr. Cameron. I might, however, instance just two cases as an illustration. Here is one charge by Mr. Cameron:—

"These worthy sons of worthy sires do not appear to have limited their operations to coal and timber lands. They were willing to turn a penny in any way out of the public resources of the country, over which their fathers then had full control, and so they applied for the salt springs flowing into Lake Winnipegosis, and Mr. Hall, of the Department of the Interior, wrote them that those lake salt springs could be had at \$5 an acre. These young men appear to have had a blind share in that deal also."

The official record in the department with regard to that is as follows:—

"On the 29th August, 1883, Macdonald & Tupper applied, under instructions from their client, Mr. Peter Barclay, of Birtle, for a salt spring of Lake Winnipegosis. They were informed that if their client can establish priority of discovery he can get forty acres at \$40 an acre on the prescribed conditions. He was called upon to prove his discovery in three months. This was more than a year ago, and the department has heard no more about it."

Another charge of Mr. Cameron's was:—

"When the late Minister of Railways fixed the terminus of the railway at Port Moody, the son of the Premier and the son of the Minister of Railways applied to this Government, over which their fathers wielded unbounded sway, for 400 acres of the foreshore at Port Moody. Whether they got it or not, I do not know; but it is very likely they did not complete the contract, because the Canadian Pacific railway changed the terminus of the road."

The records of the department showed that:—

"In August, 1883, J. W. McKay and Albert J. Hill, of New Westminster, applied for certain tidal lands situate at the east end of Port Moody. The application was referred to Mr. Trutch, who, on the 7th November, 1883, reported that, as these lands adjoined the terminal station of the Canadian Pacific railway, they were of considerable present value and prospective importance. He therefore recommended that the application should not be entertained. Hugh Macdonald wrote, on the 4th November, 1885, asking if Mr. Trutch had reported on his client's application, and on the 24th December, 1885, he was informed of Mr. Trutch's report, and told that in consequence thereof no action would be taken on McKay's application by the department."

Now these young gentlemen are solicitors, carrying on business the same as anybody else, and they wrote to the department about these lands; but the agent of the Government reporting that they were of present value and prospective importance, the lands

were never sold. I think I can fairly say, therefore, that as to these matters there was no ground for the charge of corruption, and they are a fair sample of all the charges. Let me give you a few facts in relation to

THE DISPOSAL OF TIMBER LIMITS.

For instance, there were 2,029 applications for licenses, because it was during the boom period. The applications involved no corruption. Of these 568 orders-in-council were passed, and the persons who obtained them were bound to pay rental for one year (\$250). The Government received in this connection \$24,062.27, and the people who paid this never received the limit; where two persons applied for the same limit they had to compete for it, and for bonuses in this way we received \$21,262, besides the \$24,000 for ground rents in relation to limits for which no license was ever issued, and in relation to which the people who paid the money never got the limit. As a matter of fact there were only ninety-six licenses granted altogether, out of over two thousand applications. And there were only three members who received licenses or leases: Mr. M. K. Dickenson, who is a lumber merchant; Mr. Hugh Sutherland, an opponent of the present Government, and Mr. Rykert, who applied not for himself but as a trustee for one John Adam, for whose estate he was the solicitor. Then they have made a good deal out of the question of permits. Now there were 6,837 permits issued, but 4,581 of these were ordinary settlers' free permits to enable them to get lumber to put up their houses, out-buildings, etc.; over 2,000 were to settlers wanting a greater quantity than the free permits gave, and most of the others were for cutting timber and ties in connection with the railway operations then going on in the Northwest. Then the charge was made against Mr. Costigan, that he got a permit, and so he did. Mr. Costigan is not a rich man and he is not ashamed of it, and in the pursuit of his business he got a permit to take out some ties for a railway that was being built, paid in advance 20 per cent. and went to work and cut his ties, but I believe, as a matter of fact, that the winter coming on operations had to be stopped and he never got a dollar for his ties, while the Government got his \$275. Mr. Costigan was not a minister of the Crown at that time. Then, gentlemen, we were told that we were giving grazing leases. Well, by paying an annual rental of two cents an acre any of you who wish can obtain a grazing lease by placing within three years one head of cattle for

every ten acres. We have received already for rental \$76,531 and we will save as the result of having these cattle in our own territory on the beef supply to the Indians and to the Mounted police no less than \$121,500 on a three years' contract. With regard to the charges about members of Parliament being interested in the colonization companies you all know that anybody had a perfect right to obtain a colonization grant. Among the members of Parliament who were incorporators in these companies were three Grits, the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, who was president of one of them, Mr. Gunn and Mr. Hugh Sutherland, and three Conservatives, Mr. Small, Mr. Wallace (York), and Mr. Beatty, and I think I can fairly say that Mr. Wallace has done more in connection with his York colonization company than all the others put together. As to Mr. Small, although an applicant in connection with others, the application was made before he was a member of Parliament, and as a matter of fact he never got the lands, and was, therefore, not interested in any colonization company that went into operation. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, that is the policy of slander which has been adopted when everything else has failed. If time would permit I would gladly answer all the scandals promulgated by the Opposition last session, but I will only say that the Government of Sir John Macdonald have at any rate this claim upon the country: they are earnestly desirous of promoting the best interests of the country in every respect; they are believers in the country, believers that Canada is a country of great possibilities and capabilities, and are desirous of devoting themselves in the future as in the past to the work of developing the material resources of the Dominion. (Hear, hear.) That is a positive policy and not a mere negative policy like that of the Opposition, and I do not feel in the slightest degree alarmed as to what the result will be at the next election. I feel perfectly confident that so far as I am personally concerned in supporting that policy and in doing what I can to advance it, I have been acting in accordance with the wishes of my constituents in Cardwell. (Loud cheers.) I thank you gentleman for the earnest attention which you have given to these remarks. (Prolonged cheering.)

On motion of Mr. John Kelly, seconded by Mr. John Leggett, a hearty vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. White for his able address and the meeting broke up with three cheers for the Queen and Mr. White.

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